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614 As the multiplying family merges into the clan it is not always easy to set a limit or a definition. But when the descendants of one man come to be known regularly by a distinctive name, it may be said that they constitute a new clan.

614 621 In some instances the clan is quite or nearly coincident with the village, i.e. the village is populated solely by one clan, and the clan is limited to that one village. Such a case is probably an elementary one, and the clan of comparatively recent origin. I will suggest a reason for this state of affairs and for the origin of the clans in general. There is an evident tendency for small family units to split off from the main body and form independent settlements. The reason is sometimes a quarrel and the fear of retaliatory magic, but more often, I believe, it is simply the lax method of horticulture which necessitates the clearing of many areas in succession and sometimes a temporary settlement on a distant site. This distant site is planted with coco-nut and betel, and, when subsequently the garden is again made on or about the same spot, it becomes the temporary home of a small settlement. But now one or two men may establish themselves here permanently with their families. So long as they retain their original clan name the settlement can only be regarded as an offshoot; but when they wax in numbers and begin to be known by a separate name, they become *ipso facto* a separate clan.

This process goes on continually. It means that originally the clan occupies a single village (a fact which is hinted at by the dual meaning of *araba*). In the hamlet of Borugata, for example, there are three houses and a combined yam-house and shelter. The head of the village is one Pipire, a man of middle age, who has three wives and thirteen children (an unusually large quiverful for an Orokaiva). The wife and son of his deceased brother are the only other occupants of the village. This small village of Borugata is an offshoot from another, Tandeti, inhabited by the clan Anjaha. As yet Pipire and his children retain the clan name of Anjaha; but it will be seen that we have the makings of a new clan, and it is only necessary for this small and essen-

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tially patriarchal group to receive a distinctive name for it 621 to become a separate clan.

While in origin the clan and the village are co-extensive, this state of affairs is by no means always maintained. War, dispersal, and migration have scattered some clans and drawn others together; so that now on the one hand we may find representatives of one clan in a number of villages, and on the other a single village comprising several clans. In the latter place it is found that the several clans occupy more or less distinct locations.

The Origin of Clan Names. It has been said that the essential feature which gives identity to a clan is a distinctive 614 name. Beyond this it has a further mark of identity in the 551 shape of a specific plant-emblem, called *beratu*. The *beratu* will be the subject of another chapter. I may here continue to discuss the first of these essential features, viz. the name, and account for its origin.

It is by no means unusual for a man to identify himself by the name of his parent or ancestor as well as by his own. An interesting example of this is seen in the cries of triumph uttered by the warrior or the hunter. As he drives his spear into the victim or the pig he shouts, not his own name, but some such expression as *Emboge-tabije!* (*Abije*, or descendant of Emboge); *Hositamei!* (lit. 'Son of Hosi', though in the case in point Hosi is the paternal grandfather); or *Kaiepa-ta-bijari!* (begotten of Kaiepa).[1] A woman making a big haul of fish might be elated enough to cry *Handau-ta-du!* (sister of Handau, who is the 'big man' of her clan). In other cases the successful hunter cries out his clan name, e.g. *Jagasi-tabije!*, or *Sarahu-ta-bijari!*, in which Jagasi and Sarahu are the names of the clans rather than of any definite or well-remembered person.

Again all the underlings of any 'big man' will be known 614 to others under his name. In the Sangara dialect there is a 551 word *tekaboka*, of which I do not know the literal meaning, 554 but which appears to stand for a 'following'. When, at a gathering of the clans for war, or for some peaceful cere-

[1] In some cases it appears that the man cries the name of his maternal relative, either grandfather or uncle.

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tives by marriage. Save for any untoward happening, therefore, the life of the family will fit into that of the clan.

It is only necessary to stress the point that the immediate family is recognized as a social unit; and the mere fact that a man sometimes quarrels with the members of his clan and migrates with his family or settles somewhere apart, proves that the family interest may compete with that of the clan. Both units are co-operative, the family especially in respect of the food quest, the clan in respect of ceremonies and feasts, and more importantly of fighting. The clan owns the garden land, but the family cultivates its own patch and reaps its own harvest. On the whole, since the clan displays a constant tendency to split into smaller groups of which the family is the nucleus, it is difficult to draw a line between the two. Yet for the same reason we may be right in saying that the family, as the indivisible unit, exerts the stronger hold.

Whatever the difficulty of deciding between these two, however, there can be no doubt that both of them, family and clan, mean more to the individual than does the tribe or the somewhat loose confederacy of clans within the tribe. A man's strongest sympathies certainly lie within the limits of the clan. Quarrels between families, i.e. within the clan, are inevitable, but they are easily adjusted. Not so the quarrels between clans themselves—land disputes and the like—which are prosecuted with great bitterness. Indeed, as sorcery cases show, it is almost invariably the stranger beyond the pale of the clan who is suspected. Any one within the clan is presumably a friend; any one without it is a potential enemy.

There is another kind of group-spirit with which the clan may have to contend, viz. that of locality. Once more the two are not frequently opposed. Often the village is occupied wholly by one clan, and in such a case the conflict could not arise. But when representatives of one clan (A) live in the village of another clan (B) (although the *modus vivendi* is usually satisfactory), there may arise the situation in which the clan (A) as a whole falls out with the clan (B). Witnesses have commonly assured me that a man would stand by his

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clan rather than his village in such a crisis, and this is no doubt usually the case, though I have two definite instances in which the individuals fought on the side of their adopted villages against their own clans.

It is interesting to note that immigrants from other clans into a village (e.g. those who for any reason become domiciled among their wife's or their mother's people) are not always readily assimilated. In one case that came to my notice a man of about thirty years, who had lived in a certain village since going there as an orphan child with his mother, fell out with his neighbours over a question of fishing rights, and was so cold-shouldered that he had to change his place of residence again.

It has been shown that the Orokaiva clan is usually a small unit, that it is often of comparatively recent origin, and that it often bears definitely the name of a founder and ancestor. From these facts it will be seen that its limits may hardly surpass those of kindred. There are many cases, those of scattered clans, where the kindred connexion is virtually lost sight of, but typically the clansmen may be said to be united by feelings of actual kinship. Where this is so, such feelings may be expected to prevail over any opposition from the locality spirit. However, as I have said, such a conflict seldom arises. To sum up, it may be repeated that the Orokaiva's strongest sympathies are limited to his own small clan and to his family within the clan.

Relationship Terms

The following is a list of the principal relationship terms. The speaker is a married man. The word for husband is *ivu*. This together with *ai* (wife), *mei* (son), and *iai* (daughter), is used in periphrasis when there are no set relationship terms, e.g. *tata-ivu*, *betere-ta-ai*, *simbo-ta-mei*.

mama father, father's brother, all males of the father's clan and generation; elders in general.

aja mother, mother's sisters, all females of the mother's clan and generation; elder women in general.

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Intra-Group Morality

When we turn to the consideration of intra-group morality the contrast is almost surprising. Here the ideal is one of concord and restfulness. Village life runs like a simple engine freely oiled; not called upon to achieve any complicated result, but fulfilling its routine work with a great deal of efficiency and a minimum of friction. While we may stand aghast at the quarrelsomeness of the Orokaiva group in its external relations, we cannot but admire the degree of peace and good fellowship that prevails within its circumference. This is not to say that discord never breaks the serenity of village life: for, quite apart from the raids and affrays which caused the Government most of their trouble before the tribes were pacified, there is still no lack of 'cases' of a more domestic kind. Nevertheless, one may risk the statement that, in its freedom from quarrels and ill-feeling, the group life of the Orokaiva compares by no means unfavourably with our own.

Those who administer justice and those who have consulted the records of justice among the Orokaiva may be disposed to disagree with this view as over-lenient, citing as their argument the number of crimes of violence that come before the magistrate. But it must be borne in mind that I am speaking of intra-group morality alone, and that fact immediately cuts out a very large proportion of these crimes; further, that the savage resorts to violence of a serious kind—spear-work and club-work—more readily than the member of a civilized community, and such violence, if it lead to bodily harm, can hardly escape the eye of the magistrate. It is no doubt true that a greater proportion of quarrels have a violent issue among the Orokaiva than among ourselves; but what I desire to emphasize is the relative freedom within the primitive group from the quarrels themselves.

In dealing with the standards of intra-group morality I shall first draw attention to a number of detailed points and then try to sum them up in broader terms. What follows is a rather sketchy list of Orokaiva virtues, on which we may begin with the more positive or active.

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area; when this is in turn used up, on a third, and so on. By the time all the cultivable areas have been utilized in succession, and a return is made to the first, it is not unlikely that fifteen or twenty years have elapsed. Sometimes, indeed, this intervening period is still longer: I have talked to a man, of say thirty-five years, felling timber along the edge of an existent clearing, at no great distance from the village. He was virtually the headman of his clan and a more than usually reliable informant. He told me that within his time the clan had never before used that particular ground for gardens. His elder brother, however, remembered when the gardens had been there: he was rather decrepit and perhaps fifty.

By way of definitely illustrating this system I may refer to the areas belonging to the Clan Serugahije (which numbers thirteen men, supporting ten women and twenty children). The areas are:

1. Manigausi.
2. Babari.
3. Simbiri Beari.
4. Kimeneda.
5. Ususu.
6. Hasita.

The last to be abandoned was Manigausi, which, when I made a note of it, was already thickly covered with low scrub; all the present gardens were in the area Babari, which was still unexhausted; and the one marked down for the next attack was Simbiri Beari.

One of the larger villages (in which at least two clans were represented) enumerated seventeen areas, ten of which were apparently under virgin forest and used for hunting and fishing alone.

When the gardener finds himself clearing once more on the familiar ground which was used perhaps many years before, he does not necessarily plant on the precise spot which was his previously. There is, as a rule, so much ground to spare that he is welcome to begin where he pleases, and without the risk of offending a fellow clansman. It does sometimes happen, however, that a man acquires a sort of prescriptive right to the imme-

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diate locality where he has worked, and accordingly we sometimes find an easy-going division of an area between families or branches of the clan. No doubt this becomes a stricter division where the available land is circumscribed; for individual ownership of land probably has its origin in scarcity of land.

The examples I have given come from the Aiga tribe, between the middle Opi and Kumusi rivers, where there is no practical limit to cultivable soil, and where, indeed, there still remains a good deal of apparently virgin forest. On the foot-hill country in the south of the Division, where the population is often denser, and in particular on the Buna plains, where the *kurokuro* grass has encroached on the bush to so serious an extent, the same system indeed prevails, but the intervening periods must be shortened.

As will readily be imagined, this system tends to bring about a shifting, almost nomadic, style of horticulture. Sometimes the area is at no small distance from the permanent village. Then we shall find families living for weeks at a time in their garden houses, while their more regular but scarcely superior dwellings in the village stand deserted, with a mat fastened across the doorway. The gardener may plant coco-nuts and betel on the site of his temporary lodging: this is the first step towards the establishment of a new village. By the time that ground comes to be cleared and planted again, these palms will have grown to a good size, and it is very natural, with a people so perpetually given to clan disintegration, that some families should settle permanently on the site of their distant gardens. This, in my opinion, is the ordinary reason for the simultaneous birth of a new village and a new clan.

5. *Clearing and Deforestation*

One was at first tempted to believe that this Rotation of Areas, with such long intervening periods, was devised like the fallow in the interest of fertility. The